

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4533

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 0107

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON FROM PICKERING

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PGOV, JO, EG, IS, XF
SUBJECT: DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

REF: STATE 307272 (REPEATED TEL AVIV 11023)

1. AS WE DISCUSSED IN TEHRAN, I HAVE TAKEN A BRIEF LOOK AT THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR AGREEMENT WITH THE IDEA IN MIND OF SEEING WHAT COULD BE DONE FROM THE JORDANIAN PERSPECTIVE TO MAKE THEM USEFUL FOR THE JERUSALEM TALKS. REFTEL IS THE ONLY INDICATION OF THE WORK WHICH YOU HAVE DONE UP UNTIL THE PRESENT WHICH I HAVE HERE. I HAVE ALSO TAKEN A LOOK AT THE JORDANIAN COMMENTS GIVEN US ON THE PRINCIPLES AND THE JOINT U.S.-SOVIET STATEMENT.

2. ASIDE FROM SIMPLE DRAFTING CHANGES WHICH ARE NOT RELEVANT SUBSTANTIVELY, I HAVE FOCUSED IN THE MAIN ON PARAGRAPH 4, THE FIRST SENTENCE OF WHICH COVERS THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL. I HAVE ALSO MADE SOME SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 5 WHICH COVERS THE ISSUE OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE JORDANIAN COMMENTS THEREON.

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3. ON THE WITHDRAWAL QUESTION, THE KEY SENTENCE (THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 4) MIGHT BE REDRAFTED AS FOLLOWS TO ENSURE JORDANIAN SUPPORT: "THE WITHDRAWAL CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL BE BY ISRAEL FROM ALL TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967 TO MUTUALLY-AGREED, SECURE, AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS."

A VARIANT WHICH MIGHT POSSIBLY BE SUITABLE, WHICH WOULD GO FURTHER TOWARD MEETING ISRAELI OBJECTIVES, BASED ON REFTEL, WOULD BE AS FOLLOWS: "THE WITHDRAWAL CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL BE BY ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967, ON ALL FRONTS, TO MUTUALLY-AGREED, SECURE, AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS." THE PLACEMENT OF THE PHRASE "ON ALL FRONTS" COULD JUST AS EASILY COME AFTER THE WORD "BORDER" AS IN THE PRESENT DRAFT.

4. ON THE QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION, THE FINAL SENTENCE IS CRUCIAL. THE JORDANIANS HAVE SUGGESTED THE IDEA OF NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION. THE FINAL SENTENCE MIGHT THEN BE REWORDED AS FOLLOWS: "MEANS SHOULD (WILL) BE SOUGHT TO PERMIT UNDER IMPARTIAL INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION, SELF-DETERMINATION BY THE PALESTINIANS TO DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE."

5. THE JORDANIANS HAVE ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM. IN THE CONTEXT OF TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWALS, IF THIS QUESTION CAN BE AGREED UPON, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO ADD A PHRASE, "IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WITHDRAWALS CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242, THE UNIFIED AND UNDIVIDED CHARACTER OF JERUSALEM WILL BE MAINTAINED, WITH FREEDOM OF ACCESS AND WORSHIP TO ALL HOLY PLACES." THIS MIGHT BE LEFT, AS PHRASED ABOVE, AS A SIXTH PARAGRAPH.

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6. IN ORDER TO GIVE YOU THE REST OF OUR IDEAS IN COMPLETE FORM WITH ALL SUGGESTIONS, THE DRAFT IS REPRODUCED BELOW. ITEMS IN DOUBLE PARENTHESIS BELOW ARE ITEMS WHICH WE WOULD SUGGEST FOR DELETION MAINLY TO TIGHTEN UP THE DRAFTING. ITEMS WHICH ARE IN SINGLE PARENTHESIS ARE SUGGESTED ADDITIONS. IN SUBSTANTIVE TERMS, WE THINK IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO ADD TO PARAGRAPH 3 A PHRASE FROM THE JOINT U.S.-SOVIET DECLARATION REGARDING PEACEFUL RELATIONS: ". . . ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION, AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE." FINALLY, IN PARAGRAPH 5, WE THINK YOU SHOULD CONSIDER THE USE OF THE WORD PALESTINIAN "HOMELAND" IN LIEU OF OR TOGETHER WITH THE WORD "OR ENTITY," SINCE WE HAVE USED BOTH INTERCHANGEABLY.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 AMMAN 0107

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON FROM PICKERING

7. FINALLY, JORDANIAN COMMENTS ON THE PRINCIPLES
IN AUGUST ALSO INDICATED A DESIRE TO ACCORD THE RIGHT
OF RETURN OR COMPENSATION TO PALESTINIAN REFUGEES--
THEY SAID "REPATRIATION AND COMPENSATION." THIS MAY BE
AN OVERLY DIFFICULT, AND AT THIS POINT, EXTRANEIOUS
ISSUE. GIVEN THE RATHER COMPLETE NATURE OF THE
PRINCIPLES AS THEY NOW STAND HOWEVER, WE MIGHT WANT
TO CONSIDER THE ADDITION OF ANOTHER PARAGRAPH AS
FOLLOWS: "PALESTINIAN REFUGEES SHOULD BE ACCORDED
THE RIGHT OF RETURN OR COMPENSATION, THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF WHICH WILL BE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION."

8. BEGIN REVISED TEXT:
DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. THE GOAL OF NEGOTIATIONS IS A COMPREHENSIVE
PEACE SETTLEMENT EMBODIED IN PEACE TREATIES.

2. THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS IS SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

3. ((IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT)) THE PEACE CALLED FOR
IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL CONSIST NOT ONLY OF A TERMINATION
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OF THE STATE OF WAR, BUT ALSO THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS
ARAB NEIGHBORS (ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION
OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY,
AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE).

4. ((IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT)) THE WITHDRAWAL CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL BE BY ISRAEL FROM ALL TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967 -- OR BY ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967, ON ALL FRONTS, -- TO MUTUALLY-AGREED, SECURE, AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS ((ON ALL FRONTS)). THE WITHDRAWAL AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS CAN BE PHASED OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS IN PARALLEL AND SYNCHRONIZED STAGES. THE SECURITY OF THE STAGES AND OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT WILL BE ENHANCED BY (AGREED) SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ((AS AGREED BY THE PARTIES)).

5. ((A)) (THE) SETTLEMENT MUST INCLUDE PROVISIONS FOR A PALESTINIAN ((ENTITY)) (HOMELAND) AND FOR MEANS OF ASSURING PALESTINIAN ADHERENCE TO THE TERMS OF A PEACE TREATY. THE PALESTINIAN ((ENTITY)) (HOMELAND) WILL NOT BE MILITARIZED, AND THERE WILL BE PROVISION FOR AN OPEN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ((ISRAEL)) (ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS). MEANS SHOULD BE SOUGHT TO PERMIT (UNDER IMPARTIAL INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION,) SELF-DETERMINATION BY THE PALESTINIANS ((IN DECIDING ON THEIR FUTURE STATUS)) (TO DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE).

6. (IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WITHDRAWAL CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242, THE UNIFIED AND UNDIVIDED CHARACTER OF JERUSALEM WILL BE MAINTAINED, WITH FREEDOM OF ACCESS AND WORSHIP TO ALL HOLY PLACES.)

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